

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01 IO-14 DRC-01 /133 W

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R 090905Z SEP 74

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2365

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1548

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: PEKING DEVELOPS UNITY THEME

1. FOLLOWING THE PRC LEADERSHIP'S CALL FOR THE COUNTRY TO FOLLOW THE PARTY'S LEAD IN ALL MATTERS WHICH WAS CONTAINED IN THE JULY 1 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL, THE UNITY THEME HAS TAKEN ON INCREASED IMPORTANCE IN PRC PROPAGANDA. THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF RED FLAG TAKES THIS LINE EVEN FURTHER BY EMPHASIZING THAT "REVOLUTIONARY UNITY" IS NECESSARY FOR PROGRESS IN THE ANTI-LIN, ANTI-CONFUCIUS MOVEMENT, THAT FACTIONALISM IS AN EVIL ASSOCIATED WITH LIU SHAO-CHI AND LIN PIAO, AND THAT MOST CADRES AND MASSES ARE GOOD. THE RED FLAG COMMENTARY, REPRINTED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF SEPTEMBER 7 PEOPLE'S DAILY, ARGUES THAT THOSE WHO HAVE MADE MISTAKES SHOULD BE HELPED, AND BAD PEOPLE AMOUNT TO ONLY AN EXTREMELY SMALL MINORITY.

2. THE JULY EMPHASIS ON STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES IS CONSPICUOUSLY DOWNPLAYED IN THE SEPTEMBER RED FLAG COMMENTARY. THE "LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE" IS WRITTEN OFF AS HAVING "LONG SINCE LOST ITS POSITION" AND PEOPLE ARE TOLD TO BE  
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CLEAR-HEADED AND ALERT AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD TRY TO STIR UP THE

MASSSES AGAINST EACH OTHER, CREATE RUMORS AND SPREAD HEARSAY INFORMATION TO DIVERT THE MOVEMENT AWAY FROM CRITICISM OF LIN PIAO AND CONFUCIUS.

3. COMMENT: THE RED FLAG COMMENTARY IS ABOUT AS EXPLICIT AS POSSIBLE ON THE NEED FOR UNITY DURING THIS PHASE OF THE CAMPAIGN. THE JULY 1 EDITORIAL DEMANDING THAT THE "PARTY EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN EVERYTHING" SET THE STAGE FOR A TURN AWAY FROM SPONTANEOUS MASS ACTION. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY AN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MILITARY LINE OF LIN PIAO AND THAT OF MAO TSE-TUNG. WE THEN SPECULATED THAT THIS INDICATED INCREASING PRESSURE ON CERTAIN ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY WHO MAY HAVE BEEN RESISTING THE CONCEPT OF PARTY SUPREMACY. NOW WE HAVE THIS ARTICLE WHICH TAKES A CONCILIATORY, ALMOST PLAINTIVE TONE IN EXPOUNDING THE VIRTUES OF REVOLUTIONARY UNITY AND PERMITTING PEOPLE TO CORRECT THEIR MISTAKES.

4. IT WOULD APPEAR FROM THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THE FORCES SET IN MOTION LAST MARCH BY THE MORE STRIDENTLY-WORDED RED FLAG AND PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIALS AND COMMENTARIES HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT TO CONTROL, AND THAT THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP IS CONCERNED OVER THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN MANY PROVINCIAL AREAS AS THE CURRENT MOVEMENT UNROLLED. EVIDENTLY IN THE CHINA OF TODAY EMOTIONS AND TENSIONS REMAIN AT HIGH ENOUGH LEVELS THAT TAKING THE LID OFF POPULAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY REMAINS A CHANCY BUSINESS. PERHAPS THERE ARE SOME LEADERS IN PEKING WHO ARE SAYING "WE TOLD YOU SO" TO THOSE WHO FAVORED VIGOROUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE MASSES.

5. AS A POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL DIMENSION, AN EAST EUROPEAN SOURCE HAS INFORMED US THAT RECENTLY A NUMBER OF MAJOR DECISIONS HAVE BEEN REACHED INVOLVING QUESTIONS OF LEADERSHIP AND SPHERES OF ACTIVITY WITHIN THE POLITBURO AND AT LOWER LEVELS. WHILE WE HAVE NO WAY OF VERIFYING THE ACCURACY OF HIS REPORT, THE TIMING MAKES SENSE. IF THE PRC WERE CONTEMPLATING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SIGNIFICANT NEW SHIFTS IN THE LEADERSHIP EITHER AT A NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OR IN CONNECTION WITH OCTOBER 1, THIS ALSO COULD EXPLAIN IN PART THE CURRENT HEAVY EMPHASIS ON UNITY UNDER PARTY CONTROL.

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